

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 619

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THREE PENCE

TAKING THE WORLD'S TEMPERATURE

THE world now exemplifies wars of every temperature, from very hot in China, Greece and Palestine, to mild in Scandinavia. The one thing it does not exemplify is peace.

The hot war in Palestine is not unrelated to the cold war in Europe. It is not widely realised that the Marshall Plan envisages 38.6 per cent. of Europe's oil being supplied from the Middle East this year, and 82 per cent. by 1951. Disturbances in that quarter can hardly be viewed with dissatisfaction from the Kremlin.

Indeed, now that Italy has cast in her lot decisively with the West, and the Finnish Government taken bold steps to forestall a Communist coup, there is every likelihood of the Politbureau turning its attention for a time to the countries on Russia's southern border. Stiff notes to Persia do not forebode war; but by keeping men under arms in these countries, they can impede their economic reform, and by impeding their economic reform, breed further discontent with the régimes upon which both Europe and America rely.

Lull, but no let-up

THE present lull in the East-West war of nerves should not deceive us. The Cominform has not abandoned its opposition to the Marshall Plan, and if, my lying low, it can cause the West to let up on its policy of closer co-operation, it will have scored its most signal victory to date.

Happily, the Americans seem to be aware of this. They are not going to allow the various national delegations in Washington to by-pass the Organisation for Economic Co-operation. In a report entitled "The Place of the United States in European Industrial Development," the Herter Committee on Foreign Aid points a warning finger:

"In denying Communist charges (that U.S. aid endangers sovereignty) we should not be manoeuvred into upholding a greatly distorted concept of sovereignty—one so rigid that it could make co-operative action almost an impossibility. . . . For if absolute sovereignty blocks economic integration, which is essential to European recovery, human freedom itself will be lost."

The Committee advocates, among other things, the allocation of equipment by America in accordance with a pan-European plan, involving industrial specialisation among the Marshall States: "Action by the United States may be a necessary lever to ensure co-operation."

Scrambled

IF this programme is carried into effect, the economy of Western Europe will be so thoroughly "scrambled," that national sovereignty in the field of production will become a thing of the past. Not only will the chief obstacle to a decent standard of living have been eliminated, but the States will be too interdependent even to contemplate contradictory foreign policies.

Whether or not political federation follows upon economic integration will then be a matter of small consequence. In any case, as far as the

prevention of war is concerned, the only federation which counts is the federation of America and Russia. I sometimes wonder why it is that Federal Unionists do not make this their exclusive aim, instead of spend-

COMMENTARY by BRUCE ODSPUR

ing so much time organising branches in China and Uruguay. Can it be because World Union sounds more attainable than Russo-American Union?

U.S. pact?

FOLLOWING the visit of Mr. Spaak to Washington, speculation is rife as to whether the U.S. intends to underwrite the Brussels Pact with a military guarantee. Some say it is unlikely, since Russia could hardly intervene directly in Western Europe without impinging upon the American forces in Germany. But Italy has a common frontier with Yugoslavia, and Norway (whose Defence Under-Secretary, Dag Bryn, is now in Washington) with Russia herself. The chances are that America will persuade these two countries to join the Pact and then, but only then, give the guarantee required.

That European statesmen should be eager to secure this American alliance is odd, seeing that in the event of war their countries would be made a *glacis*, and their populations be annihilated. But no doubt they would rather—as pacifists would—Europe perish to a man than that it surrendered to totalitarianism; and this is the only course open to them, so long as they understand no argument except force.

Streak of sanity

HOWEVER, a streak of sanity is to be discerned here and there. While The Observer develops the original thesis, "If you want peace, prepare for war," The New Statesman (May 1) retorts editorially that "Even were the Western European Powers to embark on the provocative and hazardous policy of rebuilding the *Wehrmacht* as their ally, we still believe that Western Europe between Copenhagen and Bayonne is militarily indefensible against the land forces which the Eastern Bloc could mobilise"—to say nothing of the super-sonic forces. Therefore, it writes:

"The best hope of security for Western Europe is for us to go resolutely ahead with planned reconstruction, aided by American dollars, and to say to Russia: 'We obviously offer no menace to your security or to that of your allies. If you attack us, you will be involved in another world war which you cannot want. We shall obviously resist aggression; if we can't stop you we can at least scorch our earth!'"

To be obviously no menace, Western Europe would have to disarm completely—in which case American dollars might not be forthcoming; but a completely disarmed Western Europe could maintain a reasonable standard of life even without them: so there seems to be some sense in this policy. "Scorched earth," however, needs some elucidation. Europe is not Russia: there is no hinterland to which farmers could be evacuated. Non-co-operation in military operations would seem to be a rather more plausible proposal.

A disarmed Western Europe might not be occupied by Russia; if it were occupied, it might not be defended by America. In either case, a world war would be avoided. The survival of

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

U.S. ARMY COLOUR BAR

Negro Leader calls for Non-violent Resistance

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President of the U.S. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, presented a most dramatic testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on March 31. He asked for the complete elimination of racial discrimination and segregation if any kind of conscription law is passed and referred to a statement of Chairman Walter Andrews of the House Armed Services Committee "that the War Department plans segregated white and Negro battalions."

Randolph, speaking of conscription, said, "I am not beguiled by the Army's use of the word 'temporary.' Whatever may pass in the way of conscription legislation will become permanent since the world trend is toward militarism. The Army knows this well. . . . Negroes are in no mood to shoulder a gun for democracy abroad so long as they are denied democracy here at home. In particular, they resent the idea of fighting or being drafted into another jimcrow army."

He continued: "Passage now of a jimcrow draft may only result in a mass civil disobedience movement along the lines of the magnificent struggles of the people of India against British imperialism. I must emphasise that the current agitation for civil rights is no longer a mere expression of hope on the part of Negroes. On the one hand, it is a positive, resolute outreach for full manhood. On the other hand, it is an equally determined will to stop acquiescing in anything less. Negroes demand full, unqualified first-class citizenship."

"In resorting to the principles and direct-action technique of Gandhi, whose death was publicly mourned by many members of Congress and Presi-

dent Truman, Negroes will be serving a higher law than any passed by a national legislature in an era when racism spells our doom.

"The conscience of the world will be shaken as by nothing else when thousands and thousands of us second-class Americans choose imprisonment in preference to permanent military slavery."

"From coast to coast in my travels I shall call upon all Negro veterans to join this civil disobedience movement and to recruit their younger brothers in an organised refusal to register and be drafted. Many veterans, bitter over Army jimcrow, have indicated that they will act spontaneously in this fashion, regardless of any organised movement. 'Never again,' they say with finality. . . .

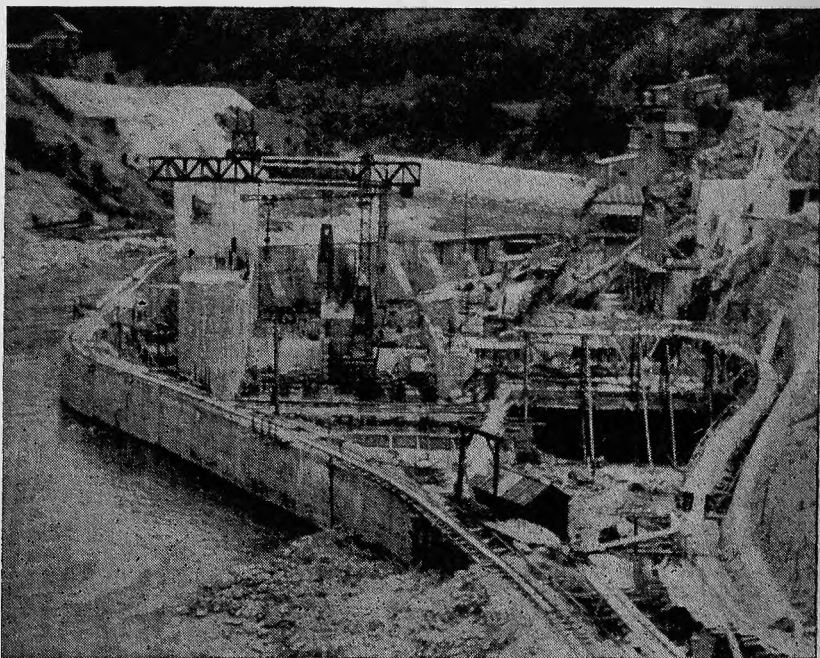
APPEAL TO WHITE YOUTH

"I shall appeal to the thousands of white youth in schools and colleges who are today vigorously shedding the prejudices of their parents and professors. I shall urge them to demonstrate their solidarity with Negro youth by ignoring the entire registration and induction machinery. And finally, I shall appeal to Negro parents to lend their moral support to their sons—to stand behind them as they march with heads high to federal prisons as a telling demonstration to the world that Negroes have reached the limit of human endurance."

"I feel under a moral obligation to disturb and keep disturbed the conscience of jimcrow America. In resisting the insult of jimcrowism to the souls of black America, we are helping to save the soul of America. And let me add that I am opposed to Russian totalitarian Communism and all its works. I consider it a menace to freedom. I stand by democracy as expressing the Judean-Christian ethic. But democracy and Christianity must be boldly and courageously applied for all men, regardless of race, colour, creed, or country."

Senator Wayne Morse, who had paid tribute to Gandhi upon his death, did not like the thought of a similar movement in America, nor did he, even as a known sponsor of equal rights for Negroes, indicate his own determination to work for racial equality in the armed forces. Morse stated that "the doctrine of treason would be applied to those participating in that civil disobedience."

PRIZE-WINNING WORK



Rehabilitation work carried out by members of the American Friends Service Committee in Austria ranges from the repair of the dam shown above to the provision of warming rooms for old people and the organising of youth groups who spend their Saturday afternoons reglazing windows.

The AFSC and Britain's Friends Relief Service were jointly awarded last year's Nobel Peace Prize. (Photo: AFSC Bulletin.)

On page four—

A Tribute to Europe's War Resisters

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TRACT FOR THE TIMES

IN a series of articles in The Catholic Herald, now reprinted in pamphlet-form ("From Communism towards Catholicism," Paternoster Pubs. Ltd., 6d.), Douglas Hyde, the late news-editor of The Daily Worker, has told the story of his conversion to and from Communism.

Mr. Hyde joined the Party at the age of eighteen. He had, he tells us, been preparing to become a Nonconformist missionary, but his first contact with Party-members scattered this intention to the winds:

"I had found nothing in Christianity which gave me such scope for my youthful enthusiasm and idealism; no sense of purpose to be compared with that of the Communists. Christians were complacent; Communists had a huge impatience with everything which was wrong with the world. The Christians I knew appeared to be still at sea on what they believed even after two thousand years; the Communist Party after only a few years knew exactly where it stood and what it wanted. Christianity had its martyrs of hundreds of years ago, but the average modern Christian seemed to be getting along pretty well without hardship; the Communists had plenty of present-day martyrs, in Asia, in the Balkans, and sometimes even in America. . .

"And there was more in it than just idealism, too. Communism offered to those who were prepared to study, not only a cure for all social and economic ills but a complete philosophy. . . It was, above all, a way of life with new values and an utter abandonment of the old."

Thus Mr. Hyde had embraced the Communist ethic:

"The class war, says Marx, has always existed, but the working class must be made aware of this and then proceed to fight it as a war. They must use military strategy and tactics, deceive the enemy, employ ruses, deceit, subterfuge. Any methods are considered permissible in warfare when the battle grows hot, this must go for the class war too."

Only as time went on, he found himself revolted by the persecutions of Eastern Europe, and the cynical distortion of news practised by his colleagues. Finally he could stand no more:

"Presumably at any time during my 20 years in the party I might equally well have been shocked by the party's total lack of scruple, by its preparedness to use any and every means of achieving its aims. . . The new element was, in fact, simply that I had once again started differentiating between right and wrong, accepting once again the old discarded values. Right and wrong, I knew, were in their final analysis, spiritual values—utterly un-Marxist."

"In concerning myself about the fate of bourgeois democratic leaders who were being hunted for their lives I was admitting the intrinsic value of the individual when as a Marxist I should regard the individual as being of no consequence and the mass as being all that mattered."

Mr. Hyde's pamphlet is a tract for the times. In the next few years we may expect more and more people, revolted by totalitarian practice, to rediscover the need for absolute spiritual values. Not all will enter the Church, because a belief in right and wrong does not necessitate belief in all the other tenets of Christianity, and the Church, hardly less than the Communist Party, upholds the principle that any means is justified by the end (if it be said that it does so only in war, we must insist that "war" is merely a name for the occasions when it does so). But it is by the resolution of individuals to resist this principle, even to martyrdom, and to fortify their values with a complete and credible philosophy, that the challenge of Communism will be met, if it is met at all.

Letters to the Editor

WORLD GOVERNMENT

IF, for whatever reasons, the moral standards of a national government tend to fall below those of the individual citizens, on what grounds do the advocates of a supra-national government suppose that the standards of such a government will not, for the same reasons, fall below those of its individual citizens? (The expression "supra-national" rather than "world" is used because the latter is appropriate only if the whole world operates the scheme. It has not been forgotten that the elections are to be direct as distinct from through national governments).

Within its jurisdiction, the supra-national government will, we are told, enforce its authority by a police force. Much is made of the distinction between police action against an individual and war against a community; but will this distinction be effective?

National police forces are usually adequate to deal with the common criminal, no matter how powerful. The supra-national government will concern itself not with a new Al Capone but with a new Adolf Hitler.

By the time he has become worthy of the attention of the supra-national police the new Hitler will have a band of followers, many of whom will probably, like the leader himself, regard themselves as men with a mission. If he exploits national grievances he will probably have gained control of the national government. Will the proposed "police action" differ greatly from a war?

In its relationships with states outside its jurisdiction, the supra-national state will act as an enormous sovereign state with a conventional army. The value of an offer of membership within the scheme as a bait for peace should not be overrated. After all, nobody expects national states today to apply eagerly for membership of the USA or the USSR.

Under present conditions, if an unscrupulous group wishes to gain control of the world, it grasps national power and proceeds further by war. If there were a world government, the same group would instead seek control of that government. It would have a fair chance of success, and

pacifists,

THOUGH many Christian people will feel for members of the Anglican Communion in their present bewilderment, and indeed shame, at the attitude of their leaders towards atomic warfare (and also the abolition of the death penalty), it is not perhaps generally realised what exactly is the position to which the Church of England is committed.

The 37th of the 39 Articles of Religion to which Anglican clergy and laity are required to assent states that "It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars." The late Archbishop Temple of Canterbury in a letter to me in 1944 admitted that he did not see how a pacifist could, with a good conscience, give the required assent to the Article. He went on, however, to suggest one way in which such assent might possibly be given: "You will notice that the Article does not say that every Christian citizen must serve in the Forces when so called upon by the Magistrate. What it says is that he may, or in other words, that his Christian profession is not a necessary hindrance to his doing so. . . ." But the Archbishop added that he realised this was the position which many Christian pacifists could not adopt.

The Article appears to do two things: legalise Christian participation in war, and deny the validity of objection on grounds of conscience—the Civil Magistrate is to be the

authority in such matters. Until this Article is revised, the official attitude of the Anglican Church and its dignitaries cannot very well be other than it is.

The 37th Article also contains a provision that "The laws of the Realm may punish Christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences."

RAYMOND GARLICK.

Ty'r Mynydd,
Llanllechid, Nr. Bangor,
North Wales.

broken homes,

WHILE having my breakfast, I read the article headed "The Creator's Mistake" (PN April 23), and was roused to indignation by the words, "The Church . . . has no remedy for broken homes or wounded spirits."

As a member of the Social Service Board of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, I know something of what it is doing throughout Scotland by its Moral Welfare Workers, to help young people to a true understanding of marriage and to repair the wreckage of broken homes.

We clergy are doing something, too. At one of our meetings a Canon said he had so many contacts with these problems that he could spend all his time dealing with them.

Then I listened to the Archbishop's beautiful sermon at St. Paul's, with its fine tribute to the home-life of the Royal Family and many Christian homes throughout the country. Well! These are the consequence of the

TWO TO GO

A FORTNIGHT ago I recorded the generous offer of our Channel Islands supporter to contribute the second instalment of his £50 to the Fund if only four, instead of ten, others subscribed £25 apiece.

Since then two more gifts of £50 have arrived, bringing the total of subscriptions and promises evoked by his original challenge up to £475. Surely yet a couple more readers will rise to the occasion and each contribute a £25 which equals £37 10s?

The grand total will then be £400, not a penny of which will be wasted. What is not required to balance our day-to-day expenses will be put into the circulation drive, and it will not be our fault or that of people still ask, "What is the PPU?"

THE EDITOR

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that without the trouble of a war to that extent only would world government reduce the probability of war.

B. W. CAMPBELL

"Ewhurst,"
16 Charnmouth Road,
St. Alban's, Herts.

THE CHURCH AND—

Church's teaching and the means of grace.

Is John Vincent advocating "Love?" Well, that has been true and found wanting in Russia, where there are no Christian inhibitions. It is just because "new generations of youth" are letting themselves "under the apple" that marriage in such a mess today. Of course, thoroughly agree that war makes sexual irregularity inevitable, except for those who hold to Christian idealism and seek for grace to maintain the

A. E. SWINTON

Swinton House,
Duns, Berwickshire.

the atom

WHILE wholeheartedly agreeing with the substance of the emergency resolution calling for withdrawal from military alliances (April 30), the last paragraph rather misleadingly where it says "This, and not the preparation of atomic warfare which the Anglican Church has recently attempted to justify in the name of Christ. . . May I point out that the report titled "The Church and the Atom" definitely states it has only the authority of the 15 members of the Commission by which it was prepared. It certainly does not represent the view of the whole Anglican Communion."

HARRY MILLER

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship,
1 Adelaide Street,
London, W.C.2.

poetry and I have never met a model work which did not do so.
KENNETH F. G. AKER

Fat for Europe

MAY I make it clear that contributions of donated fats sent to Save Europe Now for relief of many do not in any way effect allocation for Germany by the International Emergency Food Council. Harland's appeal in your issue of Feb. 13, in which she asks readers of Peace News to contribute their fat ration either to their nearest Save Europe Now depot or to our central depot, c/o Davies, Turner and Co. Bourne Street, S.W.1.

PEGGY DUFF

15 James Street, W.C.2.

PPU and "The Purge"

I SHOULD like to endorse Maurice Cranston's letter of last week. As a civil servant I have felt extremely uncomfortable about my association with the PPU since its publication, and very glad that I am now a signatory and not a member. I was the more disturbed to observe that it was adopted unanimously as I had hoped that some, at least, of the National Council were less irresponsible.

C. RAYMOND GRIMWADE

Middleton, King's Lynn.

Control of Engagements

AS I do not often look at the newspapers these days I have only just learned that the Control of Engagements Order now affects men of my age.

Owing to activities which I consider more valuable, and certain other considerations, I have for some time past been unable to give 30 hours a week to that "gainful employment" which is now considered the sole criterion of useful citizenship. I am content with little, and earn that little by writing—an occupation not yet condemned as superfluous, even by the Government (which still allows plenty of paper to be used for the publication of worse trash than I could write, however hard I tried).

Legally, however, I should register in order that some officials might direct me to help swell somebody's dividends. I have worked before for private employers, and may do so again; but to attempt to make such work compulsory smells of chattel slavery. To me this is clearly a point at which one should make a definite stand, particularly if one has any sense of vocation, such as I have with regard, especially, to the work that brings me no money.

I am not thirsting for martyrdom, and (from a brief experience) I think I hate the inside of a prison more than most people. But it is a matter

of conscience with me to refuse to register and not to do so evasively. In the hope of being overlooked. On the contrary, I feel that nothing short of the prosecution of people like myself, who feel intensely the iniquity of this regulation, will lead to its reconsideration. I shall therefore be glad if you will publish this letter, of which I will then send a copy to my local Labour Exchange, so that the authorities may have the choice between prosecution or condoning an open breach of their regulations.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3.

Song of Songs

JOHN VINCENT should check his facts before he says that Biblical Scholars treat the Song of Songs as an allegory. This was true, in the main, up till the end of the eighteenth century but since then scholars have gradually rejected such an interpretation and treated the work as love poetry—either a play, or a collection of separate poems.

It must be approaching a century since any reputable scholar accepted the allegorical interpretation. I have checked up in the various books I have at hand and find that the writers in the Hastings Bible Dictionary, Century Bible, Cambridge Bible, Expositors Bible, Peakes Commentary, and the Abingdon Commentary all regard these documents as human love-

TWO ANSWERS TO THE ATOM

Britain should Disarm Now

NOT WAIT FOR WORLD GOVERNMENT

—says Alan Litherland—

Atomic Research Student, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and former pupil of Dr. Alex Wood.

IN general, of course, the answer to the atom is the abolition of war, but that is a truism which takes us nowhere. On the other hand, there is a very real sense in which "the atom" provides its own answer, for it has produced very definite changes from which very definite conclusions can be drawn.

Even now there are few who realise just how great these changes are. According to official figures, the bomb on Hiroshima killed more people than did all the German raids on this country throughout the war, while in the destruction of buildings it was about equivalent to one of the thousand bomber raids on Germany. Bombs are now likely to be far more powerful than this, and they can be made in large numbers.

At the same time there have been other changes which would be regarded as revolutionary were they not overshadowed by the atom bomb. Bombers now being made—according to an American claim—can fly about twenty times as far as those which devastated Poland in 1939, while the latest rockets travel with about twenty times the speed of Hitler's bombers.

AGGRESSOR'S WEAPON

These changes together signify something quite new in warfare. They will enable an aggressor to attack and destroy the whole war potential of a great power—as far as it can be dealt with in targets such as cities, bases and airfields—at a single blow. It would need comparatively few men, and the bulk of the aggressor's air forces could be held ready to deal with whatever defences might remain.

In short, these weapons play overwhelmingly into the hands of the aggressor. When East and West are both equipped with them, each side will know that the secret of victory, and even of survival, will be to strike first. Then the chances of avoiding war will be vanishingly small.

In these circumstances the obvious need is for effective international control of atomic energy, but all efforts to work out an agreed control system have failed. We must not suppose that this failure is due only to incidental disagreements between Russia and the West; there are much deeper reasons than that. In fact, effective control is impossible in a world of armed sovereign states; it can only come as a part of genuine world government, and that is as yet a long way off.

GIVES NO SECURITY

So, in addition to all other causes of conflict, the existence of these weapons is alone enough to sweep the world towards war with currents far more rapid and powerful than the struggling, plodding efforts of peace-makers. Yet this very dangerousness is due to the fact that the weapons in question give no sense of security—as witnessed by the present hysterical "preparedness" policy in the USA, still undeniably the strongest power on earth.

The fact is that modern weapons have tended to become more and more a menace to other nations and less a protection to those who possess them; national armaments therefore make more and more for war and less and less for security. We shall very soon reach the point at which they make war absolutely certain, while they provide no security whatever. How can we break out of this absurd situation?

The ultimate aim must, of course, be some form of world government, but we cannot create world govern-

ment simply by getting together and deciding to have it. Many and great changes are needed before that can happen, for nations must be prepared to renounce their sovereignty—and, in particular, their armaments—without any guarantee that these will be replaced by a stable and peaceful world order. Progress is bogged because nations dare not even take the first self-divesting steps in that direction—indeed, the more urgent the need becomes, the more firmly do they march in the opposite direction.

For Britain there can be only one reasonable conclusion. The utter futility of armaments against a future big attack is particularly obvious in the case of a tiny country like ours. Britain should therefore take the initiative and set an example of total disarmament, without waiting for other nations to disarm—an example not of sacrifice, but of sanity. Coupled with positive policies in the same vein, this could breathe a new spirit into international relationships and might stem the mad rush towards a third world war.

GROWING POINTS IN GERMANY

HOWEVER critical the situation remains in Germany, there is another side to the picture which must not be forgotten: a facet which is not always of hopelessness, despair, starvation, nihilism, apathy, or rags and ruins. Ever present and almost impossible problems, such as the re-education of German youth, the rehabilitation of returned POWs, the re-establishment of refugees, the displaced persons, and others, will remain for a long time; but yet in spite of all there is the brighter and more encouraging side, and relief teams remain almost invariably optimistic.

To see and find these growing points is as exciting as the discovery of the first unexpected gems of spring flowers in the most barren places, and as astounding as the power of some little plant to break through the almost impenetrable surface which may have been laid over it.

From the suffering and humiliation of the past few years have emerged undoubtedly some of the finest Christian characters to be found in the world today in or out of the Church.

The Churches and their relief and welfare societies, with very little means at their disposal, are accomplishing really effective work. The women's organisations are taking an increasing responsibility in the community.

The restlessness and creative urges and searching of youth are throwing up here and there a fine quality of young manhood and womanhood, ready to grasp opportunities and lead, as gives one again confidence in the fundamental soundness of German youth.

Shortages and want are awakening again the dormant resources of inventive genius and resourcefulness.

Ordinary people in face of slowly sinking and lapsing moral standards, and the almost human impossibility of living honestly and legally according to the letter of the law, are holding on to overcome

Is Peace divisible by Fifty-five?

—asks Harold Bidmead—

Advocate of World Government, will be at the United Europe Conference at The Hague as Peace News Special Correspondent.

"PEACE," said Litvinoff, "is indivisible." If this is correct, then the statesmen are blundering when they try to parcel it out among the fifty-five members of the so-called "United" Nations. By its Charter, the United Nations Organisation confers upon itself a paramount task: "to maintain international peace," and at the same time deprives itself of the power indispensable to the performance of that duty. It leaves the power in other hands, distributed—or, rather, dissipated—into fifty-five separate and mutually self-cancelling contingents.

The General Assembly is permitted only to "discuss" and "make recommendations," either to the member Governments or to the misnamed Security Council. The Council cannot make a decision, let alone take action, unless the Big Shots are all agreed and two stooges vote with them, in which case, of course, there is no need for any formal organisation to keep the peace anyway. If they disagree, UNO is paralysed.

This is not to decry the value of UNO as an international debating society. The world still needs, alas, a table round which the inter-play of power politics can—with luck—proceed without bloodshed, and across which the guns can be pointed without the triggers being pulled. But

we must recognise the ever-present danger that the disputants will adjourn to the battlefield. Even when UNO can reach a decision, it cannot enforce it except, in the last resort, by embarking on war. We are asked once again to put our trust in an international organisation that can keep the peace only by waging war.

There is but one basic cause of war: anarchy. The sole cause of international war is international anarchy. Anarchy is what it says: "Absence of government." There is but one cure for anarchy: "The existence of government." The one and only cure for international war is international government; the only cure for world war is world government.

One may ask: "Do we have to wait until World War III before we can say with certitude that UNO is no government?" Fortunately, the answer is "No." It is beyond the powers of any one author or statesman to specify all the powers and qualities that a world government must possess, but it is possible to demonstrate, here and now, over and over again, that UNO is not a government and is therefore incapable of curing or even ameliorating existing international anarchy.

UNO POWERLESS

UNO is not a government because it does not possess governmental power. Such power will never be conferred upon it so long as the peoples of the world do not trust it to govern in the interests of the governed. They will never trust it so long as it continues to be a cartel of sovereign states, a consortium of nominees of 55 governments.

One might as well expect the peace of our own Realm to be maintained if the Parliament of Westminster consisted of nominees from the 52 County Councils, and if our laws could not pass into operation until they were ratified by 52 separate legislatures. The position would be worse if the law did not operate upon individuals, but only on and through the County Authorities.

Some means must be found, and found quickly, of establishing an international government, by which I mean an organisation based upon the following principles:

- 1 Its laws must not require ratification.
- 2 The representatives to the International Parliament must be elected not by the State Governments but by the people (thus reducing the risk of national bloc voting).
- 3 International law must operate directly upon the individual citizens, not through the intermediary of the separate national governments. (The only way to enforce laws upon States as such is by power, or acts of war).
- 4 The International Government must have full governmental power in matters which have been agreed to fall within the sphere of international affairs, but this sphere can be restricted, e.g., to defence, foreign policy, inter-State aviation, and sufficient taxation powers to enable the international government to finance its legitimate activities.

War has hitherto failed to exterminate the human race only because the inadequate weapons we have employed could not compete with the birth rate. Now, in the atom bomb, we have a tool that can do the job nicely.

Bertrand Russell expressed the views of the Atomic Scientists (and of many political thinkers) when he recently broadcast these words:

"There must be one central government . . . strong enough to insist on the substitution of law for anarchy. . . . Either we must, within the space of a few years, consent to an entirely novel form of political and military organisation or, if we fail in this, we must expect a world-wide disaster surpassing in its horror all that past misfortune enables us to imagine."

The task of creation, which faces this generation, is the most momentous in the history of the world. The alternative is chaos.

HUGH MAW has been working in Germany with the Friends Relief Service.

something they hate. One hears more frequently the phrase: "Well, there are still people who are good and kind and helpful, in spite of everything!"

My time in Germany is nearly ended. If there is one thing I have learned, it is that one can no more generalise about "the Germans" than one can about the people of any other nation. The Germans are people, human beings, just as much as the Russians, Americans or English. We still have, I believe, more cause to love the Germans than to hate them. There are good and bad, of course, but the good can so easily be found in all of them by simple personal contact and individual concern. They will come more than half way to meet you, but we must be prepared to go more than half way to meet them.

Germany is staggering again to her feet. Too often she sees an ocean of darkness covering the ocean of light, and does not realise that salvation lies within the individuals of her own nation. But I believe she has seen a glimpse of the light, for there are many people struggling towards it.

All over Germany little cells of honest activity and constructive creative energy and determination, little bands of courageous men and women—small organisations, working committees, or different groups ready to co-operate—will eventually link up to form a mosaic with a better design than before.

My faith in Germany was re-echoed the other day in the words of Asta Brügelmann—leader of the Cologne For—who said: "This is the most exciting time to be alive in Germany today—the most exciting period of our history. I have a great faith and a great source of inspiration in my fellow countrymen."

VE DAY, MAY 8 1945

THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY

They died in the other war — against war

BELGIUM

PROF. MICHAEL BRIQUENEER was a member of the WRI for many years and professor at the Royal Athenæum of Jodoigne. Of his life a French friend writes:

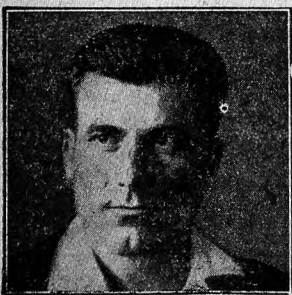
"In 1939 he lodged French COs, and one of them became his son-in-law. When the war broke out in our country in May, 1940, he was arrested with his other son-in-law as 'Communist' and 'pro-German,' by the order of the local police officer who hated our good pacifist master. Set at liberty a few days later, he returned home, and while the long defile of French, English and Belgian prisoners-of-war passed his house on their way to Germany, he hid two French and two Belgian soldiers, gave them civilian clothes, and helped them to go home. Under the Nazi occupation he kept firm his pacifist attitude, professing hatred for war and violence and the need for reconciliation. Of course, such speeches were held to be pro-German by the Patriots and pro-Allied by the Nazi collaborators! But his aim was to act so as to counter the falsehoods of wartime.

"When the Nazis mobilised the Belgian workmen he adjured the students of the 'Rheorique class' to avoid such compulsory work, inviting them to begin again their last school year at the Athenæum, and to wait to go to the University till the danger was overcome. He put his perfect knowledge of the Germans to the service of Non-Violent resistance, helping about fifty young men to escape compulsory work in the war factories of the Third Reich. He procured for those boys false medical certificates or false identity papers with the benevolent aid of a few burgo-masters and doctors.

"It happened once that he was compelled to ask a doctor of Jodoigne and a burgomaster of the vicinity (both members of the Resistance Movement) to give false papers, to save a young man. Mr. Briqueneer did not hesitate to go himself to the 'Werbestelle,' returning home after long and uneasy discussions with the Germans, but with the exemption of his protégé. Only one exemption was declined. Such a voluntary mission was not without danger for him. The Nazis didn't like his insistence, because they lost, each time, a man for the aid of their war effort, and the Patriots lost a man for their 'maquis.'

"Called himself to a compulsory job near Jodoigne, to work on one of the principal flying-grounds from which the 'Stukas' started for England, he was alone among his fellow-citizens (patriots 100 per cent.) in refusing this work. The Nazis left him alone. Finally he left the Flemish movement after its compromise with, and co-operation on fascist and military grounds, with the Nazis. His pacifist goodwill was misinterpreted by the crowd. The war psychosis and personal grudges designated him, not as the absolute pacifist he was, but as dangerous for the old basis of our violent society. That is why five men murdered him, on a road through the country, during one of his morning walks with his little granddaughter, who was left uninjured. He died with a smile on his lips. . . ."

BULGARIA



HRIST IVANCEV was sentenced to twelve years imprisonment, but owing to the efforts

THE number who forfeited their lives because they would not take up arms is small in comparison with the figures of world war casualties given below. Of the War Resisters, some are known, many must remain unknown. This week Peace News recalls the sacrifices made by several members of the War Resisters' International during World War II and also in the pre-war years which saw the waging of a cold war in several European countries.

General Marshall has given the following estimate of the number of soldiers killed in World War II:

The Soviet Union lost 7,500,000 (1 for every 22 inhabitants).
Germany lost 2,850,000 (1 for every 25).
Japan lost 1,506,000 (1 for every 46).
The British Commonwealth lost 450,000 (1 for every 125).
United Kingdom lost 305,770 (1 for every 150).
Italy lost 300,000 (1 for every 150).
China lost 2,200,000 (1 for every 200).
France lost 200,000 (1 for every 200).
U.S.A. lost 295,904 (1 for every 500).

This does not include civilian deaths by bombing. Allied air raids killed 560,000 people around the earth, and made 16,700,000 homeless, according to General Spaatz. (The Zeppelin raids over England in World War I killed 435 persons).

Neither do these figures include the colossal losses in Poland and the Balkan countries.

A German newspaper, the Nuremberg Nachrichten, has published the following estimate of world casualties:

14.5 million	soldiers killed.
2.9 "	killed through bombing.
11.0 "	victims of concentration camps.
30.0 "	severely mutilated.
21.0 "	homeless.
15.0 "	displaced persons and expellees.
5.5 "	murdered.

of the WRI was released after having served three.

Soon after his return home he wrote to the WRI thanking them for their intervention, adding:

"I also want to tell you that prison could not weaken my ideals —on the contrary, it has but fortified them and today I am so happy to be able to continue to work for them with even greater enthusiasm."

Unhappily the seeds of TB were sown in his prison days and proved fatal.

FRANCE

Many war resisters were confined in the prison of Clairvaux when it was bombed on June 14, 1940. Among those who were killed in this raid was FELIX SCHEURING, who left a wife and small child. The only one of 830 prisoners who remained in the prison when the walls were blown open was Gérard Vidal, veteran member of the War Resisters' International, who stayed to bury a comrade who had died.

GEORGES CHEVE died in prison in 1943 while serving a sentence as a war resister, leaving a little girl of four years. He had suffered imprisonment for his views as early as 1927 and had endured repeated persecution thereafter. Before his final arrest he wrote to the Ministry of War:

"I refuse formally to participate directly or indirectly in anything which concerns the duty of learning how to kill. Believe me, Sir, that it needed strong reasons to compel me to break with everything dearest to me in life, with an old father and mother, with friends, in order to accept the existence of an outlaw, an existence allotted to all those who dare to oppose military law. However, I preferred an uncertain future and these separations to lying to myself, to violating the very essence of my existence, my ideal of goodness, of fraternity and of solidarity."

PHILIBERT BESSON, former deputy, died as a war resister in prison in 1941.

SEBASTION FAURE died in prison in 1943.

GERMANY



ALFRED HERBST

of Endersbach sentenced to death on June 25, 1945, and executed on July 20 in Oranienburg.

AUGUST DICKMAN, of Dinslaken, was reported to have been shot on September 16, 1939, in Berlin, by a firing squad, on a charge of refusing to go to the front.

JOHANN HEINEN, of Dessau, was shot about the same time. Shortly before war broke out he wrote:

"In a few weeks I am to be called for service. I have decided to have nothing to do with it and will declare my objection. I hear that those objecting are severely punished, but I am prepared to undergo that. I shall certainly try and persuade as many friends as I can to my way of thinking."

Later he wrote:

"I have already received the personal order. . . . I do not know how my mental state has changed but I am now calmer and the fear is passing away; perhaps I shall be quite calm on the fateful day. My decision is absolutely unwavering. . . . I greet you all very heartily and send greetings wher-

Words of Peace - No 241

CHEAP ON THE WORLD MARKET

That we hold men to be cheap as sparrows is evidenced . . . by the fact that politicians and statesmen look upon them as being their chief bargaining commodity. It is cheaper to barter for world peace (or is it world power for which they barter?) with armed men rather than with the real stuff out of which world peace can come. What matter a few million men? They are cheap, as cheap as sparrows. Yet we must know that world peace will not come until we apply a spiritual quality of life in all our relationships. World peace will come, not by preparing our youth to fight, but by preparing our hearts to deal in all relationships with goodwill, tolerance, brotherhood, understanding, a sense of community and our responsibility for it. This requires a self-dedication and infinite faith in these qualities of life to win over the use of armed power.

From Men Are Cheap, The American Friend.

ever there is an interest in my case."

He was shortly afterwards removed to a concentration camp.



ERNST RAUSCHER

who lived near Stuttgart was also executed in Oranienburg on Feb. 11, 1944.

AUSTRIA

GUSTAV HELLER and GUSTAV KERN both associates of the WRI died as war resisters during World War II, Heller being shot by the SS.

HOLLAND

PIET ZUYDEMDORP, Secretary of the Dutch Section of the WRI, was executed in December, 1944, for illegal pacifist activity.

Among the many other war resisters who met their deaths in concentration camps were: JAAP CORNELIS, BRAM KLEIN, HENK EIKEBOOM, AB MENIST, JO DE HAAS, HEIN VRIND.

NORWAY

OLAF KULLMAN who was Chairman of the Norwegian Section of the WRI, was killed in Oranienburg Concentration Camp in 1942, having carried on pacifist propaganda to the very day of his arrest. He was latterly engaged in a propaganda tour of the country which concluded with public meetings in Oslo, but he got no further and was arrested there.

THORA LANGE, for many years a very active WRI member. Died in prison.

POLAND

JOZEF STANKUNAS died on Dec. 7, 1938, aged 30 years, as the result of TB, developed during repeated and lengthy terms of imprisonment as a war resister.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

World News

IVSP START WORK
IN GREECE

OVERCOMING many difficulties the International Voluntary Service for Peace has at last started a service of reconstruction in Greece.

Negotiations have been proceeding with the Greek Ministry of Reconstruction for over a year, and after numerous delays an international team composed of volunteers from Britain, Switzerland and France have arrived. It is hoped that they will be joined later by volunteers from other countries, and that Greek volunteers will work alongside them.

Their first job is to help rebuild devastated villages, and it is likely that their first service will be to reconstruct a school in a village in Crete. This service is sponsored by UNESCO, and help has been received from a number of official sources in order to make the service possible.

The team will endeavour to bring to Greece, one of the tension areas of the world today, not only material help but a demonstration that international co-operation is still a practical possibility. It is also hoped that, by working on actual rebuilding, the efforts of the volunteers will have the effect of increasing the help which the Greek villagers can bring to the task of reconstruction themselves. The team which landed in Piræus a month ago has been learning Greek methods of building, but is due to leave the mainland for Crete this week.

From a land where the news is very often of strife and disruption the team will shortly begin their task of increasing international understanding through the medium of "Deeds, not words."

HOLLAND

Half of Holland's Mennonite ministers have indicated their willingness to return to the principle of non-resistance which is a basic tenet of the Mennonite faith, but which had largely been lost by the Dutch Mennonites for many years. Dr. T. O. Hylkema, of Singel Mennonite Church, Amsterdam, reports that a small non-resistant peace group organised in Holland a few years ago has grown greatly, now numbering these ministers among its members.—Fellowship.

YUGOSLAVIA

Sixty thousand young people have undertaken to construct the 120 Km. Belgrade-Zagreb automobile highway, involving even more heavy work than the construction of the Samac-Sarajevo Railway, on which volunteers from all parts of Europe co-operated last year. (Cf. PN, Sept. 27, 1947).

GERMANY

International Vacation Courses are to be held at the Universities of Marburg, Munich and Heidelberg from July 24 to Aug. 13 this year. Their purpose will be to promote international understanding between students. At each course it is expected that there will be 100 foreign students and 200 German. Well-known professors from Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, Great Britain and USA will lecture. R.H.

N.P.C. LEAFLET

Copies of a new leaflet urging "men of goodwill" to ease the international tension, can now be obtained from the National Peace Council at 6s. per 100, £2 per 1,000, post free.

MUSIC & DRAMA

Hamlet and the Merchant

Edited by
Roger Page

FOR this year's birthday celebrations at Stratford-on-Avon the weather was just right; pleasant sunshine, but enough breeze to stir the flags. All the traditional features were there, though in a new order: luncheon first, and after that the procession, led by the scarlet-clad beadle, along Waterside and up Bridge Street. Among those present, actress Margaretta Scott, and the ruddy-faced, greying-haired Anthony Eden, sartorially-famed, but looking, I record in sober fact, no better-dressed than your scribe. Then the flags of the nations, eighty of them, the Turkish representative stealing a march by unfurling his flag before all the others; and the procession, through streets gay with decorations, to the church, and the long, slow, shuffling pilgrimage by townsfolk and visitors to leave wallflowers and wild posies on Shakespeare's grave. No place this for Baconians.

AUDIENCE

So to the excitements of the birthday play, given before an audience one-third diplomats, one-third celebrities, and one-third miscellaneous goods like your scribe. The 1948 birthday play is Hamlet, and Stratford this year is to have two different players as the Prince. In this town, where they take their Shakespeare seriously, and where the shopping queues are more likely to discuss Hamlet than ham, it is certain that controversy will rage as to which is the better: Scofield or Helpmann.

Paul Scofield is first player and took Hamlet on birthday night. I saw Helpmann's Hamlet in London some years ago, and still remember some things about the performance, which I liked better than did the critics. However, I prophesy the election lights on Scofield, although his birthday-night reception was a little exaggerated in its acclamation. Many of the foreign, and some of the English visitors on that night, must often have wondered what Hamlet was saying, as Scofield revealed a great tendency to gabbling. He must rid himself of that, and treat Shakespeare's words with much greater respect: I also find his walk curiously ungainly. But this young

man—now only 26, but already clearly marked as one of the coming great men of the theatre—unquestionably steps into the front rank of Hamlets, with a performance that is often painful in its power to communicate suffering.

The producer—Michael Benthall—helps him in this. There is at least one stroke of real genius. The last scene has been brilliantly staged and the court crowd panics when Fortinbras approaches. They go silent on his entry, except for the hysterical sobbing of a little page-boy huddled in a corner. I suddenly found that I was seeing the stage through tears. Also well-handled is the scene where Hamlet is "arrested" after the killing of Polonius. The applause for this scene was beyond question for the producer. Throughout the lighting was imaginative and poetical.

There has been, and will be, much discussion about the Victorian-style dressing and decorating of this production. Frankly, I went half-prepared to dislike it; but I did not. At first it is odd; it seems strange to have Elsinore guarded by heavy dragoons from *Patience*, but the eye soon settles to it, then all is well—except for the blatant and quite unnecessary, modern travel equipment for Laertes. Some of the pictures built up by this decor are very satisfying and colour is used with imagination wedded to taste. It may be that I am not a good judge in this matter; this greatest of Shakespeare's plays excites and stimulates me so much, that once the thing is under way, I care little how the people are dressed, and I believe that if they were all naked I would soon cease to care. But I am sure it is right for producers to experiment in their methods of presentation.

EXPERIMENTS

Not all the experiments tried here are justified and some of the minor cuts in the text were, I thought, pointless. When not speaking the Ghost employs an asthmatic wheeze; when speaking he every now and then roars out a word like "murder" or "revenge," and we hear the echoes. It is a bad device; it suddenly reminds us we are in the theatre.

Ophelia is played by Claire Bloom, another youngster. In the mad scene she goes all out to assault and shake the senses, and she succeeds. It was something of a triumph; the audience was too moved to applaud. This was her best scene, and if she could bring the rest of her performance to the same level, it would be a notable feat of acting. The other characters were not, to my mind, particularly outstanding. None was less than adequate, few more than adequate. An-

thony Quayle nicely touched off the sensuality in Claudius, if not the villainy.

Shakespeare's greatest play this; the night before I had seen his most popular: *The Merchant of Venice*. This, too, was produced by Michael Benthall, but was dressed and played more traditionally. It was staged almost entirely in red and black, relieved with a little pink and white. This may sound horrid; in fact it was very striking and satisfying. The only bad scene was the one which broke right away from this; the fantastic scene where Arragon faces the caskets. Here, I squirmed in my seat and asked myself, as I have asked before, this question: When are producers going to understand the simple fact that anything which stands between us and the play is, ipso facto, bad production? Arragon's attendants come down each step a la tango, two of them were required to stand one-legged throughout the scene, two of them had strapped above the shoulders, like the top half of a sandwich board, a wrought-iron framework arch. Of course the audience laughed, but they were laughing at, not with it. Besides, as Gilbert said, they would laugh if you sat down on a pork-pie.

Apart from this, the production is straightforward, and generally intelligent. One lapse should be corrected; there should be less joy at Portia's offer to repay Shylock in excess, it having already been reported he would not take money.

CASTE

Diana Wynyard's Portia had a shining quality, but was more the lover than the lawyer; she lacked the authority for Venice. Bassanio is an unsatisfactory character, altogether unworthy of Portia (but no doubt Shakespeare knew that some splendid women take to shallow cads) and behaving right against character in the caskets scene. Paul Scofield accentuated the weaknesses. Robert Helpmann's Shylock, very Semitic in make-up and very Weller-cum-Whitechapel in accent, was sound and creditable, but not outstanding. He is given one magnificent curtain, to end the first part, and makes a ballet-dancer's most of it. I greatly liked the Antonio (Noel Willman) and Gobbo was the best I have ever seen. True, Alfie Bass was very determined to make us laugh, but it is also true he succeeded, without saying more than was set down for him.

1948 brings a flourish of festivals. Stratford-on-Avon, not always rewarding, will clearly this year be one of the best and will repay pilgrimage. ROGER PAGE.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only applicants excepted from the Control of Engagement Order, 1947, No. 2021.

TWO VACANCIES for girls or women in farming Community. 1. Assist with accredited poultry. 2. Domestic help in Hall household. Interesting and useful work and life would suit two friends. Apply giving full details. Secretary, Frating Hall Farming Socy. Ltd., Frating, Colchester.

COOK-HOUSEKEEPER needed in busy household of Health Practitioner. Daily help provided. Must be strong and without complexes. Write giving full particulars of age, experience, free time reqd., and salary. Outskirts of London dist. Reply Box 890.

WORLD YMCA require several cinema operators for Scottish EVW Hostels. Ability drive van, operate 16mm. sound projector essential. Apply, in first instance, to CBCC, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

WARDEN/S OR Cook-Housekeeper reqd. for Family Service Unit engaged in pioneer work with problem families. Apply FSU., 56 Grove St., Liverpool, 7.

INDIA: FRIENDS Service Unit reqs. younger pacifists for relief and reconciliation work in Indian and Pakistan. Medical, welfare or practical skills desirable. Two years minimum service. Apply Gen. Secy., Friends Service Council, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP, Shaftesbury Ave., will require shortly, smart boy or girl for shop; opportunity to learn trade. Applications by letter only to Secy., 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

VEGETARIAN COOK wanted for elderly People's Home; good conditions and own bed-sitting rm. Apply Proprietors, Mount Avalon, Glastonbury, Som.

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FIRST CLASS duplicating: reports, bulletins, memoranda, etc. Typewriting. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.5. CANONbury 3862.

MISCELLANEOUS REGINALD BAILEY assisted by Mrs. Bailey, Naturopath, Osteopath, Psychiatrist and Bates System for eyes. 134 Hoppers Road, Winchmore Hill, N.21. Palmers Green 7868. By appointment.

WALKING TOURS: Pyrenees, French Alps, Vosges, Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Eire. Send stamp for 1948 programme, International Tramping Tours, 6 Bainbridge Rd., Leeds, Yorks.

BENEFICIAL COURSE of Yoga: 2s. 6d. Proceeds to Peace Movement. H. Bloomfield, 98 Glastonbury Rd., Morden, Surrey.

GOLDEN LINK Circle. Free membership to those who are sick or distressed. Full particulars, post free, from: Institute of Life Science, 18 (PNSC), Manchester St., London, W.1.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

BEAUTIFUL WYE Valley. Vegetarian Guest House within half mile of Tintern Abbey. Moderate terms. Walsby, Larchgrove, Tintern, Mon.

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GENERAL ELECTRIC American radio, also usable dry batteries. Perfect condn. and reception except W. Country. Valves obtainable Box 885.

LITERATURE, &c.

MIDDLETON MURRY. Twenty-seven essays under the title "Looking Before & After," will be published on May 20 by Sheppard Press. 12s. 6d. net. Order, now from Housmans Bookshop, 124 Shaftesbury Ave., W.1.

NEW PAMPHLET by Robert Entwhistle, "Civilisation: Is There a Cure?" 10d. post free. 8s. 9d. per dozen. 29 Goodwyn Ave., London, N.W.7.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

HELP US to circulate attractive 16-page booklet, "Here is the news" (Circulation 110,000). Specimen copy, addressed envelope. Davies, 40 Victoria St. Chambers, Morecambe, Lancs.

PERSONAL

PEACE WORKERS needed for Peace News office. Voluntary help urgently reqd. with work that anyone could tackle. Day time and some evngs. Odd hours as acceptable as whole days. Please write the Manager, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., W.1.

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. R. H. S. Crossman, MP, on "Western Union and Eastern Europe," Wed., May 12, at 1.15 p.m. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

ACCOMMODATION

FURN. KEY flatlet, single, 2 rms., and larder cupboard with sink; gas fire, grill, e.l., S.W.12. Box 893.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. L. Lndlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

VEGETARIANS WANTED share house communally. R. V., 36 Lyme St., N.W.1.

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

Europe through non-violent non-cooperation would certainly still be in doubt; but that is precisely the justification of this policy—since its survival through a world war would not be in doubt at all.

Pacifism v. defeatism

BUT I am afraid it will be a long time before the public—let alone its leaders—even begin to consider this alternative. The Economist talks of "defeatist, and even pacifist arguments"—as though pacifism were an extreme form of defeatism, instead of the very reverse. The movers of a resolution in the Blackburn Education Committee last week, to the effect that Communists and Pacifists should not be employed as teachers, bracketed both together as unwilling "to stand by the country in an emergency"—as though pacifists were not as opposed to totalitarianism as Communists are in its favour.

With all the evidence of Europe before their eyes, the leaders of public opinion have not yet learned that totalitarianism is war's offspring.

Goodbye School Cert!

TALKING of education, many teachers will bid a glad farewell to the School and Higher Certificates in 1951. The substitutes recommended by the Secondary School Examinations Council last Autumn, and now approved by the Ministry, have certain indubitable advantages. The boy or girl who wins Distinctions in, say, German, English and History, will no longer be relegated to the same category as the all-round dunce, simply because he happens to be hopeless at Maths. Compulsory subjects are eliminated.

At the same time, the restriction on entry for the "Ordinary" exam to those of sixteen and over should discourage teachers from cramming children with knowledge entirely inappropriate to their age. Most of the School Certificate subjects could be made interesting enough to a fifteen-year-old; to a thirteen-year-old they were repellent—and there has been a growing tendency to drive children through at fourteen.

On the other hand, this restriction will mean that few, if any, children in the "modern" schools, whose leaving-age is sixteen, will be able to enter for the exam at all, let alone twice if they fail the first time. Some change in the proposals will be necessary if this anomaly is not to increase the prejudice against these schools.

Black record

It is to be hoped that the "blood-thirsty" arguments of the Bishops of Winchester and Truro for the retention, and even extension, of the death penalty did not derive additional weight from their high ecclesiastical standing. Such standing is no guarantee of moral or intellectual eminence. No bishops voted in favour of the Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in 1809; nor the Bills to abolish the flogging of women in public or the flogging of women in gaol. Only two voted in favour of the Total Suppression of the Slave Trade—Lord Brougham declaring bitterly that "Of our six-and-twenty Right Reverend Prelates, only two will sacrifice their dinner and their regard for their stomachs to attend and vote." Gas and gaiters are not altogether unjustly associated.

INFERIORITY COMPLEX

is a "disturbance centre" in sub-consciousness generating negative impulses causing self-consciousness, lack of confidence, nervousness, worry, weak will, unsociability, lack of enterprise, stammering, blushing, forgetfulness, "nerves," sleeplessness, etc. To fight these forces directly is in vain—ERADICATE THEM FOR EVER by reconstructing within yourself a powerful, positive subconscious mind, as revealed in remarkable FREE Book, which has transformed the lives of thousands. Write to-day. All correspondence is confidential.

British Institute of Practical Psychology

10A, (ZP3), Highbury Place, London, N.5.

PAX CHRISTI CIRCLES WILL BE INTERNATIONAL

DR. A. D. BELDEN, General Director of the recently formed Pax Christi League, will be visiting Eire next week to address the Church of Ireland Peace Fellowship on the Pax Christi plan and to establish the movement there.

At the first AGM of the Pax Christi League, held in London on Saturday last under the Chairmanship of Canon T. B. Scrutton, Dr. Belden dealt with the alarming portent of the atomic bomb, and the urgency for all Christians to unite and pledge themselves to follow the teaching of Christ, as outlined in the Gospel of St. John.

The aims of this League are international: reports were received of plans for the furtherance of Pax Christi in America, Canada and the Continent of Europe, where contacts have already been established.

"Pax Christi Circles" are to be formed all over the country, and all members of Peace organisations are to be invited to join these groups without losing their own allegiance to their particular organisation.

JOHN HAGGARD.

European Youth Conference

A CONFERENCE for European Youth Leaders was held in Dortmund, British Zone of Germany, in January this year, and was so successful that the British delegates are arranging a similar one in England in August.

It will be held at Fircroft College, Selly Oak, Birmingham, from July 28 to Aug. 11, and will be attended by representatives from France, Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden, Italy, and it is hoped, all four zones of Germany.

The Conference will be mainly concerned with the problems of European Youth, particularly from the point of view of Youth Leaders.

There are eight resident vacancies for Britishers from other towns than Birmingham; the cost is £4 per week, and those wishing to attend may stay a week or a fortnight. Owing to the expense of bringing over foreign guests, we must at present ask British applicants to pay their own expenses, though there may possibly be a chance of getting some bursaries later.

Fircroft College is situated in a most pleasant spot, near to both town and country; there will be visits and excursions arranged during the fortnight.

Those interested are asked to apply to Connie Jones, 35 Hampton Road, Birmingham, 6, as quickly as possible.

Former Factory Inspector is World Government Candidate

THIRTY-EIGHT-YEAR-OLD Leslie Stephens, M.A., Principal of the Fircroft Working-men's Residential College, has been adopted by the Parliamentary Committee of the Crusade for World Government as one of their candidates for the World Constituent Assembly in 1950.

Mr. Stephens was educated at Bradfield College and Hertford College, Oxford. Before his present appointment he was for a number of years one of H.M. Inspectors of Factories. He is a keen student of the work of the International Labour Office and has travelled in Western Europe.

In 1945 he fought the Mosley division of Birmingham for the Labour Party and is a member of the City of Birmingham Libraries Committee.

TEN YEARS AGO

From Peace News, May 7, 1938.

"The objectives of war were never attained. Another war, especially a world war, will let loose upon our country thousands of undreamt-of evils that will curse generations yet unborn."

—Archbishop John T. McNichols, in a letter read in all the Catholic Churches in the Diocese of Cincinnati, USA.

The organisation of food control in the event of an "emergency" is well in hand, as can be seen from the report of the Board of Trade on the subject. Ration cards have been printed and detailed plans worked out to meet different types of emergency which might arise.

The essential significant fact is that in the event of a complete blockade we should have to live entirely on milk and potatoes.

"SPEAKERS' CORNER"

New Zealanders combat police tactics

PEACE NEWS' New Zealand Correspondent, A. C. Barrington, has recently moved from Wellington to Lower Moutere, on South Island. He is finding the rights of free speech even more restricted in this part of a country already notorious for its censorship of the written and spoken word.

In the New Zealand Christian Pacifist he writes:

"Starting was hard going at my first open-air meeting in Motueka, but after the first hour quite a fair meeting developed. The local police stopped me later and complained that the corner was a very dangerous one and also hinted that they could stop me by anticipating a breach of the peace. Not being familiar with the town I had to accept their first reason and I closed the meeting, announcing that we would be back the next week and would find a safer site.

"Choosing the opposite corner for the second meeting was successful, and the police did not interfere.

TROUBLE AT THE SIXTH

"Six meetings have now been held; the last witnessed an interesting development. The crowd was harder to collect, but a reasonable meeting was under way, perfectly orderly, with welcome questions beginning to fly, when in sailed two big bobbies, pounced on an innocent young man asking a question, said, 'None of this argument,' and pushed him away.

"They then cleared the footpath (of a side street, no traffic being impeded) and summarily ordered and pushed everyone away. No-one was allowed to pause and listen to me.

"Jack and Nancy Willets stood their ground, but no others were 'game' enough. I addressed, for the next three-quarters-of-an-hour, Jack, Nancy, the bobbies and such people as remained scattered on opposite corners waiting to see what would happen.

"No attempt was made to interfere with me, but I was deprived of an audience and respectable citizens were pushed around by the police. I told the people this was an affront to ancient traditions and rights of assembly and free speech.

"I hope Motueka residents will object to being pushed around and will refuse. If the police persist in this novel tactic we shall present them with a meeting that will not budge or otherwise connive in making New Zealand a police state.

TALK WITH THE POLICE

"I discussed their attitude with the police when I finally closed the 'meeting.' They were disinclined to argue, although the senior constable I felt, wanted to be reasonable, but was being 'chivvied' by his substantial junior. They said they had their 'orders.'

"I pointed out that the Salvation Army (half a dozen people meeting on the main street) were not interfered with. The reply was classic. 'But they don't have any argument!'

"I have been twice back to Wellington—my recent visit including another Dixon Street Reserve open-air meeting—a first-rate one with a most good-humoured and sympathetic audience, which simply would not go home, though I begged them to after three hours. Finally, at 10.55 I said I could not possibly stay any longer, but that I would be back in three months and they should look out for me!"

*The following books were seized by the Customs between 1940 and 1942 and not released until 1947: "Falsehood in War-time," "We Will Not Cease," "Men I Killed," "The New Testament Basis of Pacifism," "The Power of Non-Violence." Bulk supplies of Peace News were confiscated during the war although individual copies got through.

MAY-DAY WEEK-END IN HYDE PARK

FOR the first time for many years PPU speakers in Hyde Park last Sunday had difficulty in keeping order in the crowd.

The news of Mosley's meetings in the East End had made people gather into excited little groups all round Speakers' Corner, and very few serious meetings were in progress in the early part of the evening.

Stuart Morris, speaking from a rostrum showing a photograph of George Lansbury, was constantly interrupted by two or three hecklers, and one woman attempted to set upon a man in the crowd, a German, who objected to her shouting and bad language. Unfortunately, he retaliated, and a fight between them began to break out. A nasty situation might have developed, but Stuart Morris, unfalteringly urbane and friendly, dealt with all the questions which could be disentangled from the abuse, and continued the meeting, while his supporters did their best to calm the combatants.

One of the interrupters returned later and apologised for what had obviously been a quite unpremeditated and hysterical outburst, and conversation later between Stuart Morris and the angry lady resulted in a firm offer to knit him a pair of socks. At the end the Peace Pledge Union meeting had continued for over two hours, and Gwyneth Anderson made a closing speech without any interruption to a crowd which was then quite serious and very friendly.

UNITY IN WAR-RESISTANCE

Sunday's meeting was in marked contrast to the May Day meeting itself, which was large and completely orderly. Sybil Morrison and Bryan Anstey made moving appeals to those who had been listening to the political meetings to see the unity of workers in the only real terms, the unity of resistance to war and courage and faith in non-violence.

The London area of the PPU regards these open-air meetings as one of the best means in London of putting over the pacifist message. A new meeting in the lunch-hour at Lincoln's Inn on Fridays has just been started by Sybil Morrison, and needs at least four pacifist supporters weekly. Funds in the Area are low, just at a time when opportunities are very great; offers of financial and other help are badly needed by the London Area Organiser, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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